

Folk Sign as an Object of Linguistic Research

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Abstract: Various ideas that are expressed in order to explain what is happening today in our environment are called superstitious signs, linguoculturology is the study of differences and similarities between space and time.

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1.1. The history of the collection, systematization and study of folk signs

As a form of dialogue with the future, predictions, "fortune-telling in miniature", signs were under an unspoken ban on the part of the state and the church. Even John Chrysostom instructed: "Whoever, leaving his house, meets a crooked or lame person and understands this as an omen, he thinks a satanic deed, for it is not a meeting with a person that makes the day miserable, but a sinful life." Archpriest Alexander Men wrote: "The Son of God himself, who belittled himself, refused this knowledge. The faithful should not calculate "times and dates", but stand on guard, being in constant prayer and readiness to give an account to the Lord" [Men 1990: 158].

Despite the negative attitude towards the procedure for recognizing the future (with the exception of meteorological signs that affect the success of agriculture), in the domestic national culture there was a fairly powerful movement to collect signs and their ethnographic description and study (at the same time, almost no attention was paid to the linguistic fabric of signs). Let us characterize the main directions of the study of folk signs.

A few centuries ago, apocryphal literature gained great fame. Apocrypha - early Christian works not included in the biblical canon, "false" or "renounced" books containing religious superstitions and signs. Despite the irreconcilable struggle of the Orthodox Church with "heretical" literature, in which the religious content and the signs and beliefs common among the people merged in a strange way, the Apocrypha were actively copied in the 16th - 17th centuries. have become widespread among the people. Let's name the most famous from the apocrypha, containing, for the most part, mystical signs and folk beliefs.

Thunderbolt consisted of practical recommendations given in accordance with the "heavenly thunder that thundered in a certain sign of the zodiac" and explained how you can predict the weather from thunder. Red cue, short thunder - to hail; If thunder rumbles with rifts - rain for a long time; Thunder in September portends a warm autumn; Thunder in winter - to strong winds.

"Lightning" contained predictions based on the appearance of lightning: Lightning in winter - to a storm. If dry lightning flashes after rain, it will be clear. Interpretations of the "Kolyadnik" depended on which day of the week the feast of the Nativity of Christ fell on. "Putnik" contained road signs. The Magician explained how to learn to guess by signs yourself. The Almanac was a calendar with signs and predictions and was one of the most widely read books in Russian homes. We believe that at all times there were people who independently collected materials according to signs and beliefs, published them or transferred them to archives and monastic

libraries and, thereby enriching Russian culture, preserved various information about the life of our people. These are diplomats Herberstein, Schlozer, and especially A. Olearius, the secretary of the Holstein embassy, who compiled the "Most detailed description of the journey of the Holstein embassy to Muscovy and Persia in 1633, 1637, 1639" (published in 1870).

The oldest areas of knowledge, where omens were in demand and interest in them was consistently high, are medicine and agriculture.

A significant group in the Bibliography of signs is made up of OLD HEALERS: L.F. Serpents. Russian physicians. Research in the field of our ancient medical literature [Zmeev 1895]; P. Kurennov. Russian folk medicine book: 350 proven Russian recipes

Eighteen healers, herbalists from different countries, naturopaths [Kurennov 1990]; F.M. Loevsky. A complete real folk Russian medical book [Loevsky 1818]; NOT. Mazalov. Folk medicine of local groups of the Russian north [Mazalova 1995: 63-109]; A.G. Natradze. Russian and Soviet pharmacopoeias [Natradze 1978]; G. Vereshchagin. About folk remedies in connection with beliefs [Vereshchagin 1898]; A. Focht. From the history of folk medical beliefs [Focht 1874]; A.P. Aksenov. "I am a healer..." [Aksenov 1996].

"Nowhere, however, is superstition so clearly and consistently expressed as in the views of the public on illness and cure" [Focht 1874:11].

One of the best ethnographic studies on folk medicine is the work of G.I. Popov "Russian Folk Household Medicine" [Popov 1903], which contains a large number of signs and superstitions associated with diseases and their treatment, pregnancy and childbirth, prognosis for death or recovery. G.I. Popov notes that for the most part these signs are not only not true, but pose a threat to people's lives: "The abstract views of the people on diseases create SUPERSTITIOUS THERAPY and prevention and are the source of many obsolete anomalies of people's life." "There are so many obsolete and most absurd and harmful superstitions among our people, and so little reasonable knowledge."

At the same time, G.I. Popov points out that "no matter how primitive, sometimes even ridiculous and ugly this worldview, from the point of view of the people, it is clear and consistent, and to take away this worldview from it means to deprive it of its inner content, its spiritual" I". The positive aspect of popular beliefs regarding healing, G.I. Popov considers "the use of herbal remedies", the study of medicinal plants. At the same time, he refers to "the abundance of botanical folk names, the specificity, imagery and, together, the scientific accuracy that distinguishes them. Understanding the meaning of natural phenomena always true and often even erroneous, our people, however, did not pass by it indifferently, and each blade of grass and flower was given a distinctive and almost always expressive name. G.I. Popov gives examples of how traditional healers advise using various herbs.

The herb "plakun" gives comfort to those who cry a lot about the deceased. "Chertogon" drives the devils out of the body and the house. "Rogue grass", if you drink it and hang it in the house, it protects against damage and the evil eye. "Sorokoneduzhnik" will remove any disease as if by hand. The herb "Mary Magdalene" helps with melancholy. If you give a pregnant woman the grass "Adam's head", then the woman will easily give birth. "Diviysil" helps from many diseases, because it has nine forces. If you swallow one black berry of the "crow's eye" grass, then there will be no boils for a year, if you swallow two berries, then there will be no boils for two years. If someone, on the night of Ivan Kupala, plucks "bursting grass" and, having made a cut, grows it into his hand, he will be invincible in a fight and acquire such charm that even "the boss will bow to him and not offend".

G.I. Popov notes that "although the belief in the healing properties of plants is based mainly on their physiological action, noticed by the people, the original source of this belief is undoubtedly superstitious."

A lot of folk signs, beliefs and superstitions are contained in the book by M.D. Thoren "Russian

folk medicine XIX - early. XX centuries”, which is the largest and exemplary study in this area of folk culture to date. It reveals the originality of Russian folk medicine, which was created in certain environmental conditions and ethno-cultural environment; it contains a huge empirical material, collected "first hand" and already gone from the life of the Russian village, but never became the property of scientific medicine.

In the chapter on the symptoms of M.D. Thoren writes that some painful symptoms have calendar and meteorological significance; headaches are endowed with such a meaning in relation to weather forecasting: “You don’t even need to look at the calendar, your head will tell,” the patients confidently say. The lower back barometer has the same meaning. Some predict the weather by back pain for a day or more: in summer - rain, in winter - snow. "Will it rain soon?" - ask the lumbar soothsayer in dry time. - "But not soon - the lower back is silent." The Kiluns, people suffering from hernia, also enjoy the fame of predicting the weather. That even created a saying: "If God gave a keel, then the calendar would be thrown to the threshold."

The largest number of signs and beliefs is contained in the chapter "People's Prognosis". M.D. Thoren notes that the art of predicting the final outcome of the disease, the question of recovery or death of the patient, “only in a small number of cases is based on physical and physiological signs and lies almost all of its weight on purely superstitious foundations.”

People could not fail to notice what powerful agents of health sleep and appetite are, therefore they decide: if the patient is sleeping, to recovery. It is considered a good sign if the patient asks for bread or cabbage soup, a very bad sign - when he wants beets or honey.

To determine the outcome of the disease, prognostic experiments were undertaken: if, after pressing with a finger, a dimple remains on the patient's skin, then he will surely die. If the honey that is applied to the patient's forehead turns black, the patient will die. Ham fat is placed between the fingers of the patient for the night. And in the morning they give this fat to the dog: if she eats, then the patient will live, and if she does not eat, she will die. Quite often, predictions are based on purely superstitious signs: if you get sick on Thursday or Saturday, then death is inevitable. If the patient lies more facing the wall, he will die.

If the patient asks to be transferred to another place, for example, from the floor to the stove, then this is a sure sign of death. If in delirium the patient says that he wants to go home, or feels his clothes, then this is before death. Great prognostic value is attached to the actions of animals: if a dog plays with a horse or a cat is spoiled, the patient will recover. If a cat willingly comes to sleep with a sick person, he will recover, and if he stubbornly moves away, he will die. If the dog digs the ground and howls, turning his muzzle to the master's hut or to the church, if the cat lies upside down under the table, the cattle in the yard is worried - these are signs of the imminent death of the patient.

M.D. Thoren believes that the fatalistic views of Russian people on death are associated with superstitious ideas that are clearly visible. Both in the interpretation of the origin of diseases, and in popular prognostication, where with an excess of fatalism and superstition and with a lack of knowledge and rationality, “one ability that cannot be taken away from our people in any way is manifested: this is PHILOLOGICAL INVENTION.”

We would not dwell in detail on the healing aspects of “omensology”, all the more we would not give “suspicious” signs (turned to the wall, asks for beets, which means that he will die soon), if it were not for the internal identity of medical observation and purely everyday observation. SYMPTOMS of the disease can be so ambiguous and vague, and the diagnostic procedure brought up in the ancient healers that quality, which even now, in the era of computed tomography, has not lost its relevance, namely, brought up super-observation to trifles. Symptoms can be interpreted as SIGNS of illness, and vice versa, omens act as symptoms of future events.

An even larger group compared to medical signs is made up of “ethnographic collections” of AGRICULTURAL SIGNS: K.F. Agrinsky. Russian folk omens about the weather and their

significance for practical meteorology and agriculture [Agrinsky 1899]; ON THE. Minenko. Ecological knowledge and experience of nature management by the Russian peasants of Siberia in the 18th - early 19th centuries [Minenko 1991]; "Year-by-year is remembered" [Weather... 1994]; Agricultural calendar-temporary for 1866-1867, with the designation of folk customs, beliefs, signs and remarks regarding the weather, the distribution of rural work for the whole year and the reference tables most necessary for the farmer [Agricultural calendar-temporary ... 1866] ; A.S. Ermolov. Folk omens for the harvest [Ermolov 1902]; A.S. Ermolov. Folk weather science [Ermolov 1995]. Here are some examples from this book: If the sky is starry at Epiphany, the year will be fruitful. Pakhoma (May 15) is warm - warm all summer. Mosquitoes in late spring - to a mild winter. Stormy summer - winter with blizzards. The presence in the Russian calendar of a system of stable days and rolling holidays determined the principle of presenting the material. The first part of the book is actually "Months of words", the second part is mobile holidays, the dates of which are determined by Easter.

So, "Monthly" I.P. Kalinsky was published in 1877 and is a folk calendar with the designation of months and days of the whole year, with an explanation of the meaning of holidays and customs, with signs, observations of the weather, everyday recommendations on how to run a house and household. The emergence of the "Monthly Word" I.P. Kalinsky explained it by the need to time the church calendar with ancient Russian life, to introduce this life into a time frame: "Being in close relation to the surrounding nature, the Russian people especially liked to peer into all its phenomena, to notice the changes taking place in it, according to which they made their findings and conclusions; it was they that served for him as a LIVING AND WALKING MONTHLY WORLD ... But since it was difficult to entrust this entire stock of individual observations and ki ours and paid attention to the church calendar, to which it was easiest and most convenient to instill all the signs and observations.

Thus, in modern terms, a cluster of ecclesiastical, agricultural and weather knowledge was created. It is not advisable to breed agricultural and weather signs. They are so intertwined and interconnected that they form a single continuum. Even in those cases when they are isolated compositionally [Platonova, Vysotsky 1998], in terms of content they turn out to be identical.

The "incalculability" of weather signs, which can also be traced according to the data of our card file (as opposed to household, ritual signs), finds its explanation in the peculiarities of the Russian climate. More K.F. Agrinsky wrote: "After all, a rare of us, rural farmers, does not realize that we are slaves to the weather and its bizarre modifications and whims, from which all our undertakings in plant culture often perish, undertaken without considering precisely the possibility of these whims" [Agrinsky 1899 : 21]. In his book "Why Russia is not America" A.P. Parshev proves the climatic uniqueness of Russia as the coldest country and the difficulties of agriculture due to the unpredictable climate [Treivish 2003: 43-50]. It is interesting in this regard to compare purely quantitatively the array of Russian meteorological signs and, for example, French, "African", etc.

Let us return to the researchers of folk signs and their collections.

Interested in folk signs and beliefs V.I. Dahl devoted two extensive works to them. The first is the fundamental collection "Proverbs of the Russian people" (1851), which, in addition to proverbs and sayings, contains many signs recorded by the scientist himself. IN AND. Dahl also used the collections of the philologist Snegirev, the nobleman Knyazhevich, and the manuscript donated by Count Dmitry Tolstoy. The collection included signs and superstitions, data on the peasant menologion, superstition nye and sorcerer's customs. It is interesting that among the superstitions and signs in the texts there are sayings that regulate the degree of enthusiasm for signs: To disassemble meetings and signs - you can't get off the stove. Meetings and signs will not lead to good. In choh, yes in zhokh, but even it doesn't hurt to believe. According to V.I. Dahl, "... maybe some senseless beliefs were also invented with the aim of using the gullibility of others to live at someone else's expense."

In the voluminous collection of V.I. Dal's "Proverbs of the Russian people" (1957, 55 sheets)

contains over 30,000 recorded texts. Combining them with the common designation "proverbs", V.I. Dahl also introduced definitions of the varieties of this genre: proverbs proper, proverbial sayings, sayings, sentences, riddles, signs. It should be noted that with the linguistic interest in the figurativeness of folk signs, Dahl always combined an interest in the phenomena of culture and life of the peasants. The collection included superstitions and signs in three sections with a special designation: a person - signs (pp. 322 - 323), superstitions - signs (pp. 925 - 940), Months (pp. 871 - 924), replete with signs, associated with natural phenomena.

The second book of V.I. Dal' "On beliefs, superstitions and prejudices of the Russian people" (1880) was practically not republished. This work contains information about devils and mermaids, brownies and kikimors, as well as signs and superstitions, damage and conspiracies, inextricably linked with the ideas of the Russian superstitious peasant about life and nature.

The greatest contribution to the study of signs was made by M.I. Zabylin. In 1860, he published the book "The Russian people: its customs, rituals, traditions, superstitions and poetry." By the author's own admission, to write this work, he used many earlier publications by various authors, including: "Russian common folk holidays and superstitious rites" (1837), "Consolidated Chronicle" by L.I. Leibovich (1876), "Mysterious crown charms" by Count Cagliostro (1876), "The Tradition of Russian Folk Superstitions, Beliefs and Some Customs" (1861), "The Life of the Russian People", op. A. Tereshchenko, "Essay on domestic life and customs of the Great Russian people in the 16th and 17th centuries" by Kostomarov (1860), "The Tale of the Russian People" by N. Sakharov (1841). M.I. himself Zabylin writes that his book "will serve as a great explanation for unraveling various kinds of beliefs, rituals, prejudices, and they explain the very life and order of life with all its surroundings and false views, and to discover the reasons why all these beliefs and rituals come from. arose." The book contains the richest and most interesting materials about rituals, superstitions and holidays that exist in the culture of the Russian people.

The book of the writer and ethnographer SV. Maksimov "The Unclean, Unknown and Holy Power" (1903), based on materials recorded by the author himself and other researchers of folk culture and life in villages and villages at the end of the 19th century. The book consists of three parts devoted to the superstitious ideas of the people about all kinds of devils, brownies and witches, about relic beliefs in the magical power of natural elements, dating back to pagan times, about the so-called HOUSEHOLD ORTHODOXY.

The book by I. Sakharov "Tales of the Russian people" includes Russian black books, folk games, riddles, parables, a folk diary, folk holidays and customs. The author traveled around the provinces, "listened attentively to all the stories of the villagers, carefully wrote down all the folk legends and beliefs, mostly from the words of the storytellers themselves."

Among folklorists, some works have long become classics, moreover, they are taken as a model when compiling new lists of folk signs. We indicate the four-volume edition of A.S. Yermolov "The All-People's Month (Volume 1 was published in 1887, the last ("People's Weather Science") in 1905)" (Yermolov 1905). enjoyed great prestige book by A.A. Korinsky "People's Russia. All year long legends, beliefs, customs and proverbs of the Russian people" (Korinsky 1901). Let us also point out the publications: "The folk calendar will accept, customs and beliefs in holy Russia" (compiled by Burtsev A.E. - St. Petersburg, 1911); THEM. Snegirev "Russian common folk holidays and superstitious rites" (1837-1839); A. Tereshchenko "Life of the Russian people": In 7 vols. SPb., 1848.

A serious study in the field of historical ethnography is also the work of E.E. Holtzman "The Evil Eye and Corruption", which contains a huge number of conspiracies, predictions, rituals, customs and interpretations will be accepted by various peoples of the world, from ancient times to the present day. HER. Holtzman talks about the old schismatic manuscript "Trepetnik", where many folk signs were cited: if the left eyebrow trembles, then great goodness and fun seems. If the right eyebrow flutters, then the rich will be ill, but the poor will benefit. As soon as the upper lip trembles, it will bring enmity with the enemy. As soon as the lower lip trembles, kissing seems. As soon as the top of the head trembles, then the booty says. Your face and ears are

burning - they say kind words about you.

At the end of the "Trepetnik" tables of evil and good times were placed and a list of evil days (two in each month) was given, in which it is useless to take on any important business: in January: 8, 26; in February: 8, 24; in March: 3, 26; in April: 3, 20; in May: 20, 23, etc. every month except July. HER. Holtzman points out that many old publications contain a belief that all Mondays are hard days: on Monday you can't go on a long journey, because it will be unhappy. You can't take on anything difficult or important on Monday: what you started will still not be able to be completed. If you lend on Monday, you will give away everything you have and you will not return it back; and if you receive it on that day, the money will come. If on Monday something will happen that goes beyond ordinary life, the same thing will be repeated in the following days.

Many lists with legends about 12 Fridays went around Russia, which should be revered by every Christian and on which one must fast and behave moderately and restrainedly in order to protect oneself from evil and get rid of eternal torment. HER. Holtzman cites an excerpt from an 18th-century manuscript: "If anyone in these holy days commits fornication with his wife, and a child is conceived by them, and your child is blind, or mute, or deaf, or lame, or a thief and a robber, or a sorcerer and a sorcerer, or an adulterer, or a slanderer, or a slanderer, and a leader of all evil.

HER. Holtzman also reports that from Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, many books came to Russia about the influence of planets on the fate of individuals and entire nations. These books were called "false" or "forsaken." Secular and ecclesiastical authorities struggled with their distribution, and the lists of renounced books grew rapidly. However, the bans did not work well. "Six-wings", "Enchanter", "Snosudets", "Magician", "Traveler", "Aristotelian Gates" were read in all strata of society. Among the "false" books banned by royal and patriarchal letters were: "Raffli" (an essay consisting of 12 diagrams depicting the influence of stars on a person); "About the good and evil hours" (a story about good, middle and evil hours for the beginning, completion and end of any business); "On the days of good and evil" (in this Serbian manuscript of the 15th century, a general rule was given: the day is good, bad or average in accordance with which zodiac constellation the Moon is in. Good constellations were considered: Aries, Gemini, Virgo and Pisces; evil: Cancer, Leo and Capricorn; average: Taurus, Libra, Sagittarius, Aquarius and Scorpio. On a good day, you can start any business with the hope of success. then into evil ones); "Martoloy Reksha Astrologer" (a collection of articles on the influence of stars on people's health, on how to live in each of them 12 months, how to guess by the Sun and the Moon, how to find out whether a sick person will recover or die, etc.); "The Star Reader" (a collection of notes on the influence of stars and planets on the happiness of newborns, as well as on the fate of peoples and public welfare). With the help of this book, they predicted whether there would be peace or war, harvest or famine. With faith in heavenly signs, signs in Russia, fear of the approaching end of the world was often combined. The annals note that the terrible comet and the fiery serpent, which all European Christians saw on the day of the new year 1001, were perceived by everyone as a sign of the end of the world. In 1840, in Chernigov, a total solar eclipse terrified the peasants who gathered at the fair, who were sure that the eclipse was a sure sign of the doomsday; "Encircling the Sun and the Moon" contained judgments about future well-being in circles around the sun and moon: "As soon as the month of March is surrounded, strong princes rage from east to west. As soon as the month of April is surrounded, there will be a lot of fruit. If the month of May surrounds, the great cities will perish. As soon as the month of July is surrounded, death will be a beast. As soon as the month of August is surrounded, there will be a lot of fish and honey.

In the book of E. E. Goltzman, a large number of folk signs recorded in the Russian provinces are collected.

So, in the Arkhangelsk province, the following signs are common: whoever says goodbye by shaking hands across the threshold, trouble will happen to him; to lose the cross from the neck - to the deceased; rare-toothed man, probably a liar; who has sparse hair - usually a cunning, smart

person; who hiccups after eating, that stingy person; you can't leave the book you are reading overnight, otherwise the devil will read it, and you will forget what you read; leave pieces from the slice that you ate at dinner - leave your happiness; he who follows a man, stepping on his tracks, will soon die.

In the Vologda region, such signs were recorded: whoever has cold hands has a hot heart; who eats in the dark, his children will be thieves; if pies are poorly baked on the name day, the birthday man will die within a year; if the cuckoo is heard in front, you will be healthy for many years, and if behind, you will die soon; if you do not drink at dinner at Christmas, then you will not be thirsty all summer.

In his book "Nikitin and folk art" V.A. Tonkov describes in detail the activities in Voronezh of the "Vtorovsky circle", headed in the 50s of the 19th century by N.I. Vtorov, analyzes the Philological Notes, published in Voronezh in 1860. The author of the book notes the interested and thorough work of the Voronezh residents, including the collection of signs. "... Von-Kremmer's article - "The customs, beliefs and prejudices of the peasants of the village of Verkhotishanki" ("Voronezh. Gub. Ved.", 1851) - was approved by Bus-layev and used in his works "; "Amateur folklorist A. Bogdanov does a great job of collecting local signs and divination" [Tonkov 1958: 28-29].

Let us emphasize that in addition to the well-known collections of folk tales of well-known authors, there was an army of ascetics from the local intelligentsia who were serious about the idea of preserving folk culture, including folk "mysticism" and "heuristics".

The collection and study of folk signs was combined with an interest in the interpretation of dreams. The first Greek "Dream Interpretation" was recorded by Artemidorus in the 1st century AD. At the end of the 19th century, old dream books almost fell into disuse. Now people turned not to them, but to the collections of folk signs that existed in a great variety, which explained the meaning of what they saw in a dream: if you dream that you are falling, then you are growing; if in a dream someone tells you when you die, then your enemies will die at that hour; if you see that your hair or mustache has grown, you will make a profit; the church dreams of death; fire - to contention; rain to see - to zo tears or misfortune; stones - to hard work; to see a hole and fall into it - misfortune will happen.

The largest collection of signs related to the interpretation of dreams belonged to E.R. Romanov. Signs from it were in circulation throughout Russia: if you see a swamp, you will cry; to see the mountain - great work and grief; see dirt - to trouble; to see women - to gossip; army to see - there will be a cough or a fire; to see yourself barefoot - they will rob; scolded in a dream - you will be glad; there are cherries - to tears; drink wine - to honor.

The question is, how to correlate dream books and such a research problem as "the language of folk signs"? The external similarity of a prophetic dream and omens is in prediction, and the inner, deeper one, which makes the "semantics" of sleep, omens, and phraseological units with their "devilry" in common, is a linguistic metaphor with its alternatives, mirroring (they will scold in a dream - you will be glad), figurative parallels (dirt, swamp - to troubles, tears), ceremonial metonymy (drinking wine to honor), hyperbole and projection on the phraseological unit "Sisyphean labor" (to see the mountain - great labor and grief) . Dream Interpretations "grazed" on metaphorical thinking, used the results that took place in figurative parallels, and at the same time developed figurativeness, which, as we will see later, also applies to signs.

Interest in predictions during social cataclysms increases sharply, which coincided with the realization of freedom of speech during the period of perestroika. Purely informationally, much of our ancient way of life, the traditional way of Russian life began to return to us, as evidenced by a wide range of publications: A.F. Nekrylova 1991, A.S. Strizhev 1981, E.E. Goltsman, E.A. Grushko, Yu.M. Medvedev 1996, P.K. Rozhnova, O. Torpakova 1997, I.A. Pankeev 1997-2007, M.N. Vlasova, I.E. Platonov, V.B. Vysotsky, S.F. Karatov 1998, I. Komarova,

L. Zdanovich 1998, O.V. Tretyakova, N.V. Tveritina 2006, E.L. Isaeva, O.V. Belyakova, A.E.

Kuznetsova, Yu.M. Spasskaya, V.M. Roshal 2007.

Among the collections listed above, we would like to single out the Dictionary of Russian Superstitions, Spells, Signs and Beliefs (compiled by E. Grushko and Yu. Medvedev) - the first complete edition of signs and beliefs of the modern period. As the authors themselves write, they faced a modest task - "to try to create an ingenuous textbook of folk life, where they play, sparkle, beat over the edge and centuries-old wisdom, and sharp, not dulled over time, observation". This dictionary is valuable in that it gives in alphabetical order not only a list of superstitions and signs, but also their explanation and origin.

A separate block of publications is made up of publications of a more private nature, devoted to the description of signs "around" any reality. In such cases, the systematization of the microfragment in general national signs is necessarily accompanied by their study: BELT [Murasheva 1993: 22-38], ROAD [Schepansky 1992: 102-126], DOG [Zhelvis 1984: 135-143; Shchepansky 1993: 71-79], PIKE [Grysak 1992: 56-61], HORSE [Zaitsev 1971: 32-44], BLOOD [Blood in Beliefs... 1995], ROWAN BERRY [Tultseva 1976: 88-99], BREAD [Lavrentieva 1986], SALT [Andreeva 1959: 33-39] and many others.

Respectful of the fact that a powerful fund of folk signs is being reprinted, arranged in a new way, that is, most importantly, preserved for contemporaries and posterity, also with interest in the fact that their collections will accept individual publications that highlight their cross-cultural ties, that is, in addition to Russian signs, signs of other peoples are printed, nevertheless, from everything that has been said before, we can draw at least two "exclusive" conclusions.

1. PROFESSIONAL signs are not collected in the proper volume, signs are not studied by gender and age, social and individual sign, that is, "sags" what can be called SOCIOLOGY OF SIGNS.

2. In the general array of modern linguistic research, in particular research on linguo-folkloristics, until recently, little attention has been paid to the LANGUAGE OF FOLK SIGNS.

SEPARATE language projections can be found in the already mentioned publications. For example, in his book On the History of Folk Medical Beliefs, Focht writes: "Language has retained to the present day clear evidence of the pagan concept of the origin of the disease from an evil deity. In Slavic dialects, the names of terrible and mortal diseases come from the word God: thus, smallpox is called the goddess, the plague is the scourge of God, the god is a wound, fainting is divine; even mutilated, a cripple is called a bogal [Fogt 1874:10].

Until the beginning of the 21st century, there was no systematic description of the language of folk signs, it was not undertaken either in the past or in the present in Russian philology. Meanwhile, A.A. Potebnya drew attention to the language as a factor of progress: "... The truth, obtained by the labor of many generations, is then easily given even to children, which is the essence of progress; but it is less well known that man owes this progress to language. Language is also a condition for the progress of peoples, why it is the organ of the thought of an individual ... "[Potebnya, 1862: 182-183]. It is no coincidence that A.S. Yermolov emphasized: "Wherever possible, I cited genuine sayings of the people in order to preserve all the shades of folk expressions and their peculiar color, avoiding conveying them in my own words: folk wisdom must also speak folk language, otherwise a significant part of its interest is lost. This prompted me to cite most of the foreign sayings in the original "(Ermolov 1995: 10). A.S. Yermolov admits that he did not touch on "the philological roots of folk sayings and did not search for their origin ... <...> Such a following would take me too far" [Ermolov 1995: 9]. Let us evaluate the wisdom of the scientist, who recognized that the linguistic fabric of folk signs requires a special, detailed, serious, multifaceted study. In the light of the foregoing, we believe that in our dissertation, posing problems mainly of linguo-conceptology and linguoculturology of signs, we are forced to leave behind whole complexes of other possible directions for studying the language of signs: etymological, accentological, linguo-symbolic, etc.

Let us characterize what, by whom and in what works is noted in terms of the analysis of the

language of folk signs.

One of the chapters of the book by A.E. Kitikov, who studied the Mari folk signs, is called "The Language of Signs". This chapter is preceded by the author's commentary on the thought of the famous folklorist V.M. Vasiliev. "Of course, in comparison with other genres of folklore, in signs, artistry is less significant. This was pointed out by a great connoisseur, tireless collector of Mari folklore, Doctor of Philology V.M. Vasiliev, who noted that folk omens "are also the result of people's observations, expressed, however, in simpler forms than proverbs. In relation to language, their value lies, so to speak, in the protocol accuracy of expressing the results of observations on the environment. However, folk signs also reflect the peculiarities of figurative thinking and the poetic disposition of the people" [Kitikov 1977: 37]. In support of his thought, the researcher gives examples of signs, including epithets (The sun sets in crimson clouds - to rain), detailed comparisons (Fog, similar to milk foam, rises upwards - to rain), hyperbolic metaphors (Sparrows spend meeting - to the heat), elements of folk mise-en-scene (Towards the rain, the chaffinch whimpers softly: Oh, my loins, my loins!), etc. Moreover, the researcher sees in the examples the use of rhymes and rhythms (Viburnum blooms – plays race), onomatopoeia, that is, onomatopoeia (cf. in the Russian version: For-KUKUKOVala - you can bathe), describes in detail the syntactic features of the omen. "The results of the analysis of the structure and types of sentences will accept this collection show that most of the texts are presented in the form of complex (87%) and much less in the form of simple (13%) sentences" [Kitikov 1977: 43]. The author compares the syntax of signs and riddles: "Compared to other small genres of Mari folklore, complex sentences find their most absolute use only in signs. For example, in riddles, the constructions of complex sentences make up only 18% <...> As can be seen from the data, complex sentences are typical of Mari folk signs. This also contains a distinctive feature of the artistic language of folk signs. This is facilitated by the very purpose of the genre - by cause and effect to reveal the dialectical connection of the phenomena of the real world" [Kitikov 1977: 43]. Finally, the intonation of the sign also falls into the field of attention of the scientist: "The first sentence is pronounced with a preemptive intonation that an explanation will follow, and the second - with a slight decrease in tone, but the intonation rises on the subject" [Kitikov 1977: 44].

We believe that the researcher has identified some general linguistic characteristics of signs as a genre, although the "observation ground" was exclusively Mari folk signs. The only thing that causes regret is the translation, which in some places cuts off the language landscape of signs, pulling up, adjusting the language of signs to the "Russian standard". Compare: The cones dry up (have eaten up, "open their mouths"), If the mosquitoes jostle (have eaten, "crumple the hemp"), The drizzle lasts a long time (finished, "twist the rope") [Kitikov 1977: 39].

In other similar studies, little attention is paid to language, the authors limit themselves to stating the function of a sign and, accordingly, figurativeness. "... Signs are a kind of proverbial sayings. They have an instructive meaning, but unlike proverbs, the instructiveness of folk signs is not instructive and didactic, but scientific, observant and instructive. Therefore, the figurativeness of signs is created not in the figurative application of concepts, but always in a direct interpretation, which, through a simple comparison, gives a certain "conclusion" or something that is useful to remember" [Komi people ... 1993: 15].

Researchers especially emphasize such a linguistic feature of the sign as its aphorism. G.L. Permyakov notes that in folklore studies, omens are an aphoristic genre that stands out as an independent type of proverbs, that is, sayings [Permyakov 1975: 255].

Folklorists write about signs when they explore, for example, "a funeral-commemorative ritual complex" The very list of realities associated with funeral rituals: amulets (cross, mirror, garbage, broom, salt, knife), objects of a cleansing nature (fire, water), objects of an accompanying nature (bread, honey, salt, shoes, nails), objects of a symbolic nature (towel, scarf) in many respects coincides with the list of household items - omens carriers. [Gavrilova 1997 13-14].

The problem of the language of signs was considered in the articles by V.K. Kharchenko, where the issues of the functional originality of folk signs, their aesthetic resource were considered [Kharchenko 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1993].

A special place in the theory of the question is occupied by the monographic study by M.A. Kulkova, who made an attempt "when studying the pragmatic features of Russians, she will apply the method of "cultural scenarios" by A. Vezhbitskaya, considering this type of proverbs as linguo-cultural texts containing rich information material for revealing the national specificity of the language of the Russian people" [Kulkova 2005:22].

According to O.B. Khristoforova, a folk omen is "an interpretation of a certain situation... which is used by the bearers of tradition to build their behavior" [Khristoforova, 1998: 30].

N.N. Fattakhova defines folk omens as "sustainable constructions that capture the collective experience of relationships with the natural environment of a certain ethnic group, and a forecast-prediction built on the basis of this experience" [Fattakhova, 2004: 4]. Following N.N. Fattakhova, M.A. Kulkova offers a similar definition of folk omens: folk omens are "sustainable constructions, as a rule, expressing a forecast regarding meteorological phenomena or agriculture based on the empirical experience of an ethnic group as a result of long-term interaction with the environment" [Kulkova 2005: 28].

The central part of M.A. Kulkova was a comparison of Russian and German folk signs in terms of modeling the linguistic picture of the world. The value of this study also lies in the fact that for the first time an approach was applied to signs from the standpoint of pragmatics, in particular, the study of directive speech acts. "An analysis of the specific varieties of directive statements and situations described in the linguistic literature made it possible to distinguish two main subtypes of directives found in folk signs: prescriptive, that is, prescribing the action of the addressee, and suggestive, expressing a warning, advice. Each type of DRA [directive speech acts. - E.T.] is characterized by its own set of features that determine the pragmatic context. Prescriptives are characterized by obligatory action, the priority of the speaker, for suggestives - the priority of the speaker, non-obligatory and beneficial action for the addressee. Let's consider each pragmatic type separately.

I. Prescriptive DRA: order, order, permission, prohibition, prescription. Prescriptives are characterized by the obligatory nature of the action for the addressee, the priority of the speaker's position. The sign of beneficitation is irrelevant here. The performer of the caused action is the addressee. The source of motivation can be a representative of a linguocultural society who has more experience in the fields of agricultural and domestic life. The addressee is in a non-priority position and does not have the right to decide on the performance / non-performance of the action. For example: "When the rye blossoms, you can't whitewash the canvases" [Dal. P. 672], "Don't sow the wheat before the oak leaf" [Ryzhenkov. S. 117]; "This flax on the Deer" [Dal. P. 651], "On the first Savior of Pasha under the winter, this winter" [Dal. P. 656], "Sow potatoes from St. Nicholas of the Spring" [Dal. P. 650], "When the bears scream loudly, sow the wheat" [Ryzhenkov. P. 115], "I am going to sow skip forty frosts after forty martyrs" [Dal. S. 644], etc.

I. Suggestives are a type of directives in which the speaker occupies a priority position on the basis of his worldly experience or knowledge of the state of affairs in a certain situation, who considers himself entitled to cause the actions of the addressee. According to the speaker, the causal action is beneficial for the addressee, although its performance is not obligatory, and the addressee himself decides whether to perform it or not. Suggestives can be beneficial for both participants in the communicative act. The performers of an action are the addressee or the addressee and the speaker, but the addressee is always responsible for making the decision. Suggestives include warning, advice, and suggestion. For example: "If you sow peas with a north wind, it will be liquid; at the western and southwestern - small and worm" [Dal. P. 673], "If you bake an onion before the onion is harvested from the garden, then the whole onion will dry out" [Dal. S. 674], "Swim on the water when a rainbow appears dangerous - it will drag you to heaven" [Ryzhenkov. P. 87], "The earth has warmed up - do not be late with sowing"

[Ryzhenkov. P. 114]" (Kulkova 2005: 121-123).

M.A. Kulkova convincingly showed that the material of folk signs fits well with the theory of pragmatics, in particular, fits into the classification of directive speech acts.

With all the solidity of the material collected over the centuries (folk signs themselves) and various approaches to its description, we believe that the problems of the language of signs still contain many "white spots", and this work is devoted not only to the traditional aspects of the study of signs (the history of the study of folk signs, their classification, structure, grammatical features), but also relatively new aspects, namely: linguocognitology and linguoculturology of folk signs.

Thus, the analysis of collections of folk signs and studies on signs and superstitions showed significant gaps in their description, a noticeable absence of some purely linguistic projections on the form of translation of this microgenre in the domestic national culture.

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